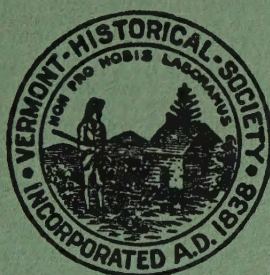


NEW SERIES

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VOL. X No. 3

PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society



The New Statue of Ethan Allen
Ethan Allen. *An Address*
Independent Vermont
The Making of Tomorrow. *A Review*
Archaeology for the Amateur
A Vermont Bookshelf. *A Department*
Postscript

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

SEPTEMBER

1942

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Proceedings
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SEPTEMBER

1942

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The leading article in our December issue will tell the story of a hoax which the editor of the *Proceedings* has been charged with perpetrating upon the readers of the magazine; it may also suggest the pitfalls that await the historian and student of history.

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Printed and made in the United States of America by E. L. Hildreth & Company, Inc.

Publication Office: 8 Harmony Place, Brattleboro, Vermont.

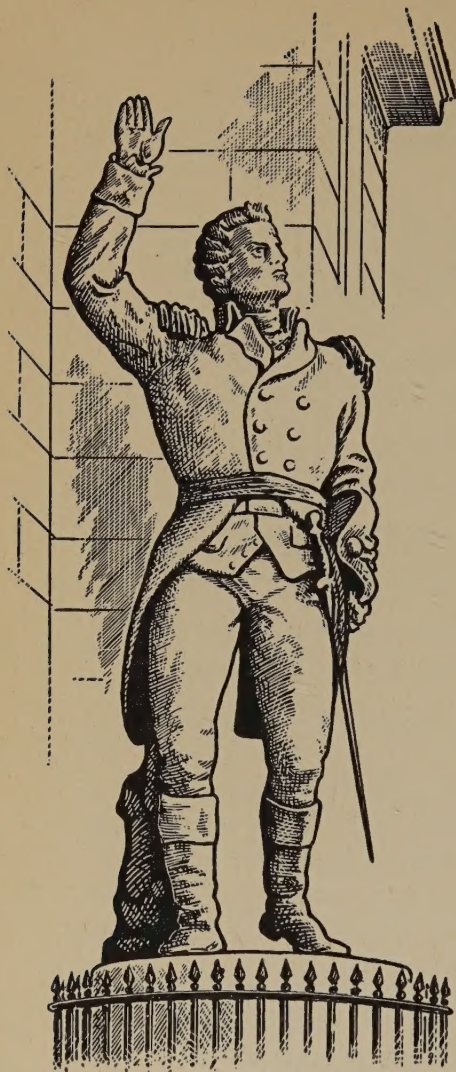
\$3.00 A Year

Published Quarterly

75 Cents A Copy

GENERAL OFFICE: MONTPELIER, VT.

Entered as second-class matter December 23, 1937, at the post office at Brattleboro, Vermont, under the Act of August 24, 1912.



STATUE of ETHAN ALLEN
CAPITOL STEPS
MONTPELIER, VERMONT

PRAYER AT THE UNVEILING
of the
STATUE OF ETHAN ALLEN
October 29, 1941

Almighty and Eternal God, whom our fathers revered and whose commandments they honored in loyal obedience, we bless Thee for our heritage from the mighty man of valor whose sword accomplished the independence of our State. We are grateful that we inherit from one who knew no fear, who faced danger gladly for the common good, and whose great spirit, inflamed with love of liberty, created the Vermont tradition of manhood resolute in determination and strong in courage to maintain its rights.

We dedicate this memorial likeness to the preservation of the spirit of Ethan Allen in these mountains forever. We place his heroic figure in the shelter of the structure where we make our laws to remind the generations to come of the noble intensity of his zeal for American liberty. May Vermonters never forget the stature of the man who first led Vermont men in battle, and who became the symbol of the qualities of manhood bred under the shadow of our great hills. We summon his spirit to stand by us in these present days of peril to our nation and to the cause of freedom in all the world. May we be worthy of our first great leader, and may the courage, the passion for liberty, and the will to conquer which lived in him and made him great live also in us and in our children, to the end that strength of manhood may abide in our mountain home forever. Amen.

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION EXERCISES
DOCTOR JOHN M. THOMAS

P V H S
Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society
1942

NEW SERIES

SEPTEMBER

VOL. X No. 3

ETHAN ALLEN. AN ADDRESS

By DEANE C. DAVIS

Ethan Allen outlasts his monuments, as Mr. Davis suggests in his address which now becomes a notable item in our Allen literature. The address was delivered at the dedication of a new statue of Allen at the State House, Montpelier, Vermont, on October 29, 1941. Time has had its way with the original statue, erected eighty-one years ago, and the crumbling statue was judged to have served its purpose. A copy of the statue was ordered by legislative action; and Allen begins once more a century-old vigil facing the green lawns and the passing generations whom he served so well in the early years of the Green Mountain State. Editor.

IT is a deep-seated instinct of man which moves him to preserve the memory of his heroes. From the dawn of civilization the use of statuary has persisted as one convenient form in which man gives expression to his adulation for his heroes. We have good reason to rejoice that it is so. Whole periods of history, which would otherwise have been lost to posterity, have been filled in by the records wrought in stone. Old forms of civilization have been thus reconstructed to make their contribution to the progress of the ages.

Not always does it happen that the fame of great men outlives the monuments erected in their honor. These proceedings witness that

the fame of Ethan Allen and the grateful memory of succeeding generations have outlived the monument erected to keep that memory alive.

On October 10, 1861, pursuant to legislative act, the original statue from which the one unveiled today was copied, was unveiled with appropriate ceremony. The proceedings took place on this very spot in the presence of a large number of citizens and state officials including the General Assembly of the state. The original statue was carved in marble from a model by Larkin G. Mead, Jr., then of Brattleboro, Vermont. The granite pedestal which we see here before us is the identical one upon which the original statue stood. This original statue was erected in grateful recognition of the courage, leadership, and heroism displayed by Ethan Allen in the events which resulted in the building of a new and independent state. He was our First Vermonter then and he is today.

Mead's conception of the features, figure, and personal appearance was not drawn from photograph or portrait, for there was none available for him. There has long been a rumor that a portrait of Ethan was painted long ago and that it was taken to Canada, presumably by Ethan's daughter, Fanny, who became a nun in a convent there. But wherever the portrait went, if it ever existed, it has been definitely lost.

There has been much literary and historical research into the period preceding the establishment of Vermont as a separate and sovereign state. As a natural and necessary part of that research minute descriptions of the principal and leading actors in that drama were taken from the lips of the most observing contemporaries. Among these actors Ethan Allen was of first importance, and it is from those descriptions, supplemented by independent research, that the artist's conception was drawn. But this statue and the original from which it was copied do not represent the sum total of all the efforts which have been made to preserve his memory in statuary form.

Well over a hundred years ago, the Allen family erected some sort of a small monument to Ethan Allen near the supposed site of his grave in the Green Mountain Cemetery at Burlington. The stone was struck and shattered by lightning and was in ruin for a long time. In 1857 the Vermont legislature appropriated a sufficient sum of money to set up a Tuscan column 42 feet high, with a capstone engraved "Ticonderoga." In 1871 a substantial sum of money was raised by private subscription with which a Carrara marble statue was

purchased to surmount the capstone, and the sculptor was a man by the name of Stephenson of Boston, Massachusetts. In November, 1872, the Vermont legislature voted \$500.00 for an iron fence to surround the column. In the same year the legislature of Vermont voted \$15,000.00 for statues of Ethan Allen and Jacob Collamer to be placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. Hiram Powers designed the statue of Collamer and Larkin G. Mead, Jr., designed that of Allen.

There has been much controversy as to whether Ethan Allen was a tall, commanding figure or a short and somewhat stocky man. Mead's Allen here, as will be noticed, portrays an heroic figure. His Allen in Statuary Hall portrays a somewhat shorter and stockier man, while Stephenson's Allen on the Tuscan column in Green Mountain Cemetery in Burlington is a smaller Allen whose face does not wholly resemble Mead's work. A review of the literature of the times indicates that Mead's statue was declared by competent judges to be "admirable for design and faultless in execution." As can be readily seen by all, the figure here portrayed is of a tall, commanding man. The head is slightly thrown back, the right hand raised above, while the left hangs by the side holding a chapeau. The figure is clothed in the continental uniform, wearing sash and sword. The impression produced by it is striking and pleasing. It is every inch the statue of a hero, and that is the conception of all true Vermonters.

There was yet another statue of Ethan known to exist, but which has apparently been lost for all time. Benjamin H. Kinney, who lived in Sunderland, Vermont, and Burlington, Vermont, conceived the idea of carving a wooden statue of Ethan Allen which he finished in 1852, following directions for the face which were furnished by three aged Burlington men, all of whom knew Allen well. Kinney carved a tall, heroic-looking figure. His finished work was exhibited in Harrington Block on College Street in Burlington. The records of the Vermont legislature disclose that there was an attempt made to induce the legislature to appropriate money to defray the expense of having this model carved in marble. The attempt failed and Kinney ultimately took the statue with him to Worcester, Massachusetts, where he spent the remainder of his life. Probably this statue is forever lost, though many have still not given up the hope that it may be discovered. An engraving made of Kinney's statue appears as a frontispiece for DePuy's *History of Vermont*, and it is probably a fairly good likeness of the man.

Ethan Allen was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, January 10, 1737-38, the first-born child of Joseph Allen and his wife, Mary, daughter of John and Sarah Baker of Woodbury, Connecticut. He came to Vermont in 1769 at the age of thirty-two. Prior to coming to Vermont he had had no occasion to take any important part in public affairs. He did, however, find time while there to form a fast friendship with Dr. Thomas Young, a physician with a thirst for learning. Dr. Young had already acquired a formal education and along with his busy practice continued his search for knowledge. Young was attracted to Ethan by his devotion to the rule of reason and by his capable intellect and his habit of critical analysis of all the then accepted philosophies of the relation of man to government. Young first directed Ethan's attention and interest to the land that we now call Vermont. He remained a constant friend and correspondent and rendered valuable assistance to Ethan in his fight for recognition of Vermont as a separate state. It was Young who persuaded the Vermonters ultimately to establish their first Constitution. In 1767 Ethan made a trip to Vermont, coming with a group of pioneers to Bennington and vicinity, and spent most of the winter wandering about the country and sizing up its possibilities for future development. In 1779 he came to Vermont and established his home at Arlington.

What is now Vermont was a wild, rugged and unbroken wilderness. There were less than seven thousand people in the whole area. A glimpse of the character of the terrain toward the north as it was in those days may be gained from the letters of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, who made a trip through Vermont a few years later, and who tells of an incident when a trapper by the name of Sunderland made a trip up the river which we now call the Winooski in 1761. He lost his way and nearly lost his life from exposure and starvation. He was rescued by a friendly band of Indians who nursed him back to life and health. Their sole stock of provisions consisted of onions, supposed to have been gathered from the banks of the river, and from that fact the Winooski was named the Onion River.

The men and women who had come to Vermont were hardy pioneers from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. When they came into this rugged and unsettled wilderness to build their homes, they had no thought of building a new and independent state. They came because they wanted to build and own a home and create the opportunity of earning with their own hands a living for themselves and their families. They were poor in material possessions.

Land, in those days, was most important. Those who did not own land were socially regarded as inferior. There appear to have been three rather clearly defined social classes: gentlemen, yeomen, and laborers. The yeoman was so because he owned land. The laborer improved his social status by buying land and thus becoming a yeoman. These pioneers were a rugged, hard-working, hard-fighting kind of people. They were for the most part quite devoid of formal education, but there were many strong and capable minds among them nevertheless. They had courage, they had hope, and they had an amazing capacity for self-reliance, and they had a fixed determination to use their talents to build a more perfect life for themselves and their families. These characteristics, intensified and brought into bold relief as they were by the later struggle which they were to endure, were the stuff from which was eventually builded a unity of ideal and purpose which moulded these people into a state. Their identity of purpose and persistency of resolve made the State of Vermont and became our tradition by inheritance.

Those early Vermonters came on foot, on horseback, and with oxen and cattle, and cut down the trees and dug up the stones to make their rude homes. Many of the first chose the hillsides because it was easier to clear the land. They cut down the trees and rolled them down the slopes and set fire to them and burned them. The ashes fertilized the soil already teeming with life and fertility. They planted their crops between the stumps and gradually reduced the primeval forest to a sufficient state of cultivation to furnish them with food and clothing. They were sufficient unto themselves. They built their own roads, produced their own food, made their own clothes, nursed themselves and each other in sickness, and distilled their own cider brandy. There was much hard drinking, hard swearing, and licentiousness. That was to be expected under such pioneer conditions. But there must have been strong religious convictions among those people too, or if not religious convictions, at least strong religious aspirations. If that were not so, the building of churches and the organization of church groups could not have followed in such quick succession in those early settlements.

To appraise fairly the life and character of Ethan Allen we must view him and his deeds against that rough and rugged background. He has often been described as a rough and uncouth man. He was rough, but if he had not been, he could not have survived the obstacles he encountered. Though wholly devoid of the polish and man-

ners which a softer civilization stamps upon men, he was a powerful, forceful, honest, courageous, and able man. He was a strong man, a capable and successful soldier, a robust leader of men both in thought and action, a thinker, a writer, a skilful negotiator, and he was possessed of a consuming hatred of bigotry and oppression and of an enduring devotion to the principles of individual freedom. This devotion became a passion which ultimately consumed his whole energy. His own words were: "Ever since I arrived at the state of manhood and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty. The history of nations, doomed to perpetual slavery, in consequence of yielding up to tyrants their natural born liberties, I read with a sort of philosophical horror; so that the first systematical and bloody attempt, at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind and fully determined me to take part with my country."

It was the most natural thing in the world that Ethan should become the leader of the New Hampshire Grants in their two-fold fight for freedom: their fight for national independence and their fight for state independence. A wise and all-powerful Providence has never failed to produce great leaders in the great crises which the cause of human freedom has met. In these dangerous and disheartening days we may still draw some comfort from that lesson of history. He immediately espoused the cause of the settlers against the claims of New York. Several prominent historians have spent much time and labor and research to attempt to prove that the position taken by Ethan and by the early settlers with respect to New York was wrong and unjustified. Whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to that question as far as the technicalities of the law are concerned, let there be no doubt that Ethan and his followers believed completely in the justice of their cause. It may well be that the truth of the situation is that both parties were partly right, as they certainly believed they were. But perfect justice, always hard of attainment, may very probably have lain about half way between the positions taken by the contending parties.

To understand that controversy we must go far back into early colonial history. There we may find the causes which furnished the basis for the later bitter struggle. In the early part of the seventeenth century the English had started to undertake the settlement and colonization of America. She laid claim to the whole of the Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Labrador, but she was not the only Euro-

pean country that had designs upon America. Holland sent out expeditions for the purpose of establishing colonies in this country, and the Dutch were the first to go up the Hudson River. There they found fertile lands and a climate they liked. So they established a trading post at Albany and started slowly and gradually to extend their settlements eastward.

We find the Dutch looking eastward toward Vermont and the English looking westward toward Vermont. Collision was bound to come and it did. A temporary agreement was made as to the boundary in 1650. The Dutch Governor on the one hand and the New England Commissioners on the other made a treaty in 1650 fixing the eastern boundary of the Dutch territory ten miles east of the Hudson River. Holland ratified this treaty. England would not. Charles the Second, King of England, decided fourteen years later that it was time to take the territory away from the Dutch and so he proceeded to do it. In 1664 he gave a charter to his beloved brother James, the Duke of York, from whom New York took its name, and in this charter he granted to the Duke all the lands from Delaware Bay to the Connecticut River. He was deeding a lot of land that he didn't own but that didn't bother him. Furthermore, he had himself two years before granted a charter to Connecticut which embraced all the land from Narragansett Bay west to the Pacific Ocean, and the Crown had thirty years before granted a charter to Massachusetts which included much of the land embraced in the deed to the Duke of York.

Now Charles the Second not only deeded New York and all of Vermont and part of Massachusetts and Connecticut to his brother, but he furnished him with ships, men, guns, and provisions, and told him to go and take it away from the Dutch. This the Duke of York proceeded to do. But though he had a deed to all of Vermont; within six weeks after the conquest was ended, an agreement was reached fixing the eastern boundary of the York territory at a point twenty miles east of the Hudson River. This applied to the boundary south of the New Hampshire Grants but was the line contended for by the Vermont colonists. This line was regarded as the true line by the New Hampshire grantees when they bought their lands from Governor Wentworth over one hundred years later.

Now the land that is New Hampshire was never granted to anyone until 1741 and during that time remained under the immediate jurisdiction of the Crown of England. In 1741 New Hampshire was

granted by King George to Governor Benning Wentworth and in describing the territory granted he fixed the western boundary by these rather indefinite words: "extending westward until it meets our other governments." Now "our other governments" was, of course, New York. Since nearly one hundred years before the eastern boundary had been fixed by the Duke of York twenty miles east of the Hudson River, Governor Wentworth thought he owned all of the territory east of that line. So did the original settlers. So he started to sell it off and in 1749 granted the first charter to Bennington which is named for him. Following this, 130 charters were granted to towns in Vermont, and up from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts came that early group of men and women seeking homes in a new land. They bought their land and paid for it with their meagre, hard-earned savings, and they bought it believing the seller had a right to sell.

If New York had limited itself to a claim of sovereignty over the disputed area, it is quite possible that the course of history would have been quite different. But New York not only sought to assert the right to govern this territory but sought to eject the settlers from their homes and lands. These settlers did not propose to see all that they possessed in the world and for which they had struggled so hard, taken from them without a fight. Ethan Allen immediately became their leader and undertook what seemed to be the hopeless task of resisting the power and strength of the great State of New York. He was then a young man of great physical strength and vigor of mind, and what was perhaps of more importance he was possessed of unbounded confidence in his own ability and he had the zeal and faith of a crusader. He had great personal magnetism and that drew men to him and inspired their loyalty and confidence. Probably no other man then living in the district could have so quickly and successfully established unity among the settlers of the grants. He never asked his followers to risk personal danger that he was unwilling to risk himself. In spite of his rough and ready strength and courage and his pugnacious disposition, he never took a life or harmed a human being with his own hand. How skilfully he managed the affairs of his little army to avoid bloodshed is one of the unique chapters of the story of the times. He was especially good at strategy. This is well illustrated by the story told of Ethan by John Pell, to the effect that Ethan had captured two New York sheriffs who had come to execute process against some of the settlers. He locked them in separate rooms on the

same side of the house and during the night tied an effigy to a tree outside the window. At dawn he told each of the officers to look out and see his companion swinging from the tree. Each was allowed to escape, believing he had just missed a terrible death.

Ethan Allen combined a deadly earnestness of purpose with an unusual brand of humor calculated to please the pioneer settlers. Throughout the turbulent years when he was engaged in making history this quality in his character is seen to shine through again and again. He made good use of his humor to further his plans too. When the Governor of New York posted a reward for Ethan Allen, as though he were an ordinary outlaw, Ethan forged another chain in the link that was binding men to him in the grants by offering himself a smaller reward for the Attorney General of the Province of New York who was the representative of the Province in the enforcement of its laws. The reward was offered on the ground that the Attorney General was disturbing the peace and repose of the honest citizens of Bennington.

Among Ethan's manifold qualities there is perhaps one that stands out above all others and more than anything else accounted for the great success which he achieved. That was his ability to do things in a spectacular way and at the right moment. His timing was magnificent. This was no accident but the result of careful planning in advance of the event. He foresaw the shaping of events and was prepared to strike at the very moment to take the fullest advantage of every blow. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the execution of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, which is the event more people remember in connection with Ethan Allen than any other single thing.

He foresaw long in advance of the actual breaking out of hostilities the importance of initial victories for the colonists. He appreciated fully the dramatic possibilities of the capture of the fort. When the word came that the British troops had been driven out of Concord and Lexington by farmers with hunting rifles, Ethan hastened to Bennington and there assembled the older and wiser men of the grants and soon persuaded them to let him lead the expedition against the fort. The story of how he and his brave band of 130 Green Mountain Boys and 70 men from Massachusetts and Connecticut did this is known throughout the whole land. The spirit of that occasion is portrayed in this beautiful statue which we have just unveiled, by the inscription of the words which he used in answering the query of

the British officer as to his authority: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The importance of that brilliant capture is not to be measured by the number of men and cannon that were captured or by the importance of the fort from a military point of view. It came at exactly the right moment. It inspired new courage in the hearts of the colonists and gave them a glimpse of what could be accomplished by even a small band of determined and fearless men burning with the fire of liberty in their veins. More than 50 of the cannon captured were transported over the almost impassable terrain to be used so effectively at Dorchester Heights in the siege of Boston as to determine conclusively that contest in favor of the colonists.

Here again is a splendid example of the humanity of the man. He was a leader not by the force of power but by inspiration. Just before the attack on Ticonderoga he gathered his men and gave them their chance to turn back. His words on that occasion are a splendid example of the character of the man. He and they knew full well the tremendous obstacles they faced and the personal risk which they were running. Said Ethan: "Friends and fellow soldiers, you have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me, from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes, and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily poise your fire-locks." He knew how to appeal to their pride and valor and he knew there was nothing to be compared to his willingness to take the greatest personal risk himself and he always took it.

I am fully conscious that there is nothing new that can be said on this occasion about Ethan Allen and his times. All has been said again and again. The important thing is that we occasionally take time to recall this great man and the principles for which he stood. He was not a perfect man, but who among us is? We shall not be misled by those who have struggled to find weak spots in the character of Ethan Allen. All who passionately love liberty revere the memory of Ethan Allen.

Long after this monument to his memory shall have crumbled in decay, his fame will burn with a great light upon the ramparts of the fortresses of liberty. The record of his life will continue to inspire men who love liberty to dare greatly and fight courageously for the cause of human freedom. Ethan Allen was in the days of our origins and is now our First Vermonter.



INDEPENDENT VERMONT

By GEORGE E. HYDE

Research Historian, Vermont Historical Records Survey

*The idea that Vermont was the creation of the Allens and their associates as a result of land-jobbing operations and interests seems to us too widely prevalent. The theory has grown out of attacks on the Allens originally by early writers and has been emphasized in later years by historians with limited training and experience and finally by "popular" writers. Such a position, in our opinion, is untenable. We asked Mr. Hyde to use Charles M. Thompson's recent book, *Independent Vermont* [Houghton Mifflin Company, \$4.50], as a base for a brief review-article which might search for the real source of modes of operation by which the early Vermonters functioned. We gave Mr. Hyde no specific assignment to this purpose, believing that his knowledge would be adequate to find the answer without a marked lead into the tangled subject. We agree thoroughly with the paragraph beginning, "To ask the reader to believe that a group of men, drawn largely from one family . . ." Editor.*

THE serious student of Vermont history will find little in the way of new historical fact in *Independent Vermont* by Charles Minor Thompson although he will certainly find much in the way of interpretation and deduction which will interest him and with which he will, of course, disagree or not as he pleases. The author, as a matter of fact, makes no pretense of writing scholastic history but himself refers to the work as a "narrative." It is just that. It is the story of the territory which became Vermont during the period covered by the narrative, of its inhabitants and their friends and enemies.

The author was a man eminently qualified for the task which he set for himself and which he doubtless considered a labor of love and the building of a memorial which would last after him. He was reared in the Vermont tradition and with an almost atavistic inclination toward the history of the state. It is not necessary to consult the very extensive bibliography to know that he read widely in the existing

historical works dealing with this period. Unfortunately, it is equally apparent that he did not go back to original sources of which such a great mass remains to be studied and tabulated in this state.

It is inevitable under such circumstances that the volume should hand on a number of minor errors which are to be found in the authorities whom he consulted. In this he is in a large and distinguished company. There is only one error which is outstanding, and it might even be said that this is nothing but the ghost of an error. It started out in life so very long ago and has wandered so far waiting for someone to lay it to rest. This may be as good a time as another. For many years it has been customary for writers, speakers on historic occasions, as well as serious students in the field of historical research, to speak of the town of Guilford as having existed for many years as a small independent republic subject only to the guidance of a distant Parliament.

Guilford has as colorful a history as any town in the state and will lose little by having this erroneous distinction taken from it. The town was among the earlier grants to be made by Benning Wentworth west of the Connecticut River. However, its charter, except for the necessary difference in boundaries and the names of its proprietors, is identical with that of Bennington and, in fact, with the charter of every town granted by Wentworth west of the river or in the non-Masonian territory east of the river. May the error rest in peace!

One notices a tendency throughout the volume to treat events as the machinations of individuals or of groups of individuals. The whole picture is a gigantic background before which the heroes and villains strut, accompanied by an appropriately favorable or hostile chorus composed of the Green Mountain Boys and other inhabitants of the Grants. This makes an interesting and even dramatic narrative but is often disconcerting to the historian.

If one is to accept the dictum of James Truslow Adams that "events are forces made momentarily visible," the history of Vermont during this period falls into place as a part of a great mosaic extending from the Carolinas to the Canadas, as in fact it is. The crucial years in Vermont were contemporaneous with the termination of one era and the beginning of another throughout the colonies and, for that matter, throughout the world. The Westminster Massacre, the rear-guard action at Hubbardton, and the raid on Royalton were as much an integral part of the general picture as were the battles of

Bunker Hill and Yorktown and the Indian raids in the valley of the Mohawk.

Forces were at work throughout the colonies. A ferment was at work among the people, whether they were redemptioners or political slaves in the South or fugitives from religious persecution in the North. This ferment was a perfectly natural *sequitur* of the conditions which had resulted in their finding themselves where they were and was a continuance of a groping, almost blind, for a freedom, a liberty, and an equality which they had so far found only in their Bibles. The manner in which this ferment showed itself differed according to differences of environment but was the same in its aims.

Needless to say, not all of the colonists were in accord regarding this feeling of unrest. Had that been the case there might never have been a clash, and the change might well have taken place in an orderly transition as natural as evolution itself. The American colonies were established for the exploitation, not only of the natural resources of the country, including the indigenous population, but of the colonists themselves so soon as they should have acquired a sufficiency of wealth to make them exploitable. This was the established and well-known policy of the Crown, and the Lords of the Council for Plantations and Trade had it before them as a guiding principle.

Where exploitation is to be carried out by a group of individuals upon another group of individuals at a distance, the exploiting group is represented by agents, chosen in many instances from among the exploited themselves. Such a situation makes it inevitable that there spring up a coterie within the exploited mass which is favorably inclined toward the exploiters. This condition was manifest throughout the colonies. There were exceptions, all the more notable because they were exceptions.

To assume that this revolt against exploitation was the main force to bring about the fight for independence in the colonies would establish a false premise. History does not reduce itself so easily to a common denominator. But the fact remains that the colonists had not fled from England to escape religious persecution to be willing to put up with an equally odious economic persecution. They would not even tolerate it from their fellow colonists, and when efforts were made to do so in Rhode Island, in the Oblong or in the Seven Partners in New York, they removed themselves elsewhere. Many of them came to Vermont.

These men were independent almost to the point of anarchy. They resented any restraint except that which they imposed upon them-

selves. Individually they were frugal to the point of parsimony, but as a conglomeration they were improvident and shortsighted to an unbelievable extent. Their thoughts were too taken up with the details of the labor required from them from dawn to dark if they were to hew a competence from the wilderness for themselves and for their families. Reading, to most of them, was a far more arduous task than chopping down trees, and one may safely assume that few of them were led very far astray by bombastic broadsides, whether from the pen of Ethan Allen or anyone else.

To ask the reader to believe that a group of men, drawn largely from one family, conceived a scheme, largely for their own aggrandisement and enrichment, of moulding this inchoate mass of highly individualistic adventurers into a body politic and of setting it up as an independent state is a strain on the imagination. To ask that one believe that the independence of Vermont and her admission to the federal union was the outcome of such a scheme is an imposition on common sense.

These early inhabitants of Vermont did not go out to meet emergencies with well thought out plans of campaigns any more than their descendants do today. When a situation became so serious that something simply had to be done about it, they took the rifle and powder-horn, kissed the wife and children, and headed for the nearest probable meeting-place, the tavern, whether the innkeeper's name happened to be Fay, Kent, Chittenden, Coffeen, or Arms. They drank rum with everybody. Talked with everybody. Listened to all the rumors and reports. And, when they thought that they had a proper grasp of the situation, they reached a decision.

At such a gathering there was bound to be an old hunter or two, probably veterans of the Indian Wars. These were unquestionably listened to with respect. Plans were proposed and discussed. The assembly broke up into groups and came together again. Finally, a decision was reached, but before it was reached it was inevitable that the innkeeper, whoever he might be, was called upon for his opinion and was listened to with respect, for he was the one who knew everybody, heard everything, and was the guide, counselor and friend of the settlers. But let no one tell us that any individual or any group of individuals told these men what they were to do or how they were going to do it. They made up their own minds and picked their own leaders, and, when these leaders no longer met with their approval,

they simply ceased to be leaders, since one cannot be a leader without a following.

From Stone's Rebellion through the Westminster Massacre to the capture of Ticonderoga the process of coagulation under the pressure of a common peril runs as logically and as naturally as the growth of an icicle. Word passes from tavern to tavern, from group to group. Men become acquainted with other men of whose existence they had not even known a few short months before. Leaders are pushed to the front and are then allowed to fall into oblivion. Finally, the crystallization begins to culminate in the adoption of the Constitution at Windsor and the definite establishment of the New Hampshire Grants as an independent body politic with all the instrumentalities necessary to function as a state, and if necessary as a republic.

With a background such as this it is in no way surprising that Ethan Allen should come to the front as a leader and be suddenly discarded in favor of Warner. That Bowker should become a sort of perennial chairman was as natural as that there should be leaves on a tree. There is his counterpart today in virtually every town in the state. Thomas Chittenden, as an innkeeper, was known to every other innkeeper in the territory, in other words to the most trusted men in each community, and there could be nothing more logical than that he should be chosen to be the state's first governor.

When the state government was set up and the people began to speak through their representatives in the Assembly, they followed the same independent course of action. They accepted dictation from no one. If they did not like the "quieting" bill, they did not pass it until they were convinced beyond any doubt that it was what they wanted. If they wanted Brookline to have a member in the Assembly, they seated him, Governor and Council or no Governor and Council.

There has been a general tendency on the part of historical writers dealing with the Vermont subject to imply, if they went no farther, that the leaders of the early years had their eye on the main chance, which, after all, is merely to say that they differed surprisingly little from leaders of the present day. There was hardly one of them, however, who did not know that what meant security and prosperity for him meant a similar security and prosperity for his constituents. Hundreds of them ungrudgingly gave everything they had, including their lives, to the common cause, just as their descendants are doing today on every battlefield in the world.

An outstanding fact during this period is that the forces which were

at work in Vermont were the same as those which were underlying developments in the older colonies to the south. These forces terminated in Vermont and did not extend north into the Canadas, regardless of much wishful thinking at that time. The events which were the visible manifestations of these forces took their shape and color from the environment in which they occurred and differed from the events preceding and during the Revolution in the other settlements just as this environment differed. The same can be said of the leaders, themselves the product of the environment and brought forward by the events.

A historical narrative deals largely with events rather than with the forces of which they are the manifestation. The narrative, therefore, presents an entirely different picture for each locality which it covers. This is as it should be and gives to the narrative a variety which history often lacks, since it is dealing mainly with forces which are identical with forces in a dozen other localities.

Thompson, in *Independent Vermont*, whatever may be the criticism or the evaluation of his work, has given to historical literature a lasting memorial of himself. He has combined in very readable form most of the factual material now available on this period, and if he does bring some errors into the story, it is worthy of mention that he has discarded many others which were equally at hand. The volume should prove particularly useful to writers of historical fiction who do not care to wade through the entire bibliography of Vermont history, much less to go back to original sources. The book should be found in all school and public libraries and a historian's bookshelf will be incomplete without it.



THE MAKING OF TOMORROW

A REVIEW

By EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON

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THE MAKING OF TOMORROW. By Raoul de Roussy de Sales. New York, Reynal and Hitchcock. 340 pp. \$2.50. 1942.

It has not been the policy of the *Proceedings* in the past to attempt to review every book of history which issues from the press, far less every essay in social science. It cannot do so for reasons of space; it should not do so because these books are competently analyzed in the general historical reviews. It should and does present reviews of books which are pertinent to Vermont history, written by men whose knowledge in this field is detailed. To the historian it is important that local histories be so handled.

But we are a historical society as well as a Vermont historical society. Our business is history and its promotion. In the field of detailed research and collection, we can best serve our fundamental aims by concentrating on Vermont history. But in the field of education — and the historical society is the chief educational institution reaching the adult — we must do more. We must show the value of studying history itself — what services it renders to other lines of everyday activity and what critical role it plays in the evolution of our intellectual outlook. With care we may avoid the dead hand of the past. With vision we may utilize history as a tool for the present. True, it may be an inspiration *from* the past. But it is also an inspiration *for* the future.

In times of crisis it behooves us especially not to neglect the tools at our elbow. If there are tools of destruction, there are also those of reconstruction. It is vital that we concern ourselves with the latter also. For in history we may not only find the outline of that for which we fight, but also a clue to the means by which we can secure those ideals for the future. It may be accomplished, not merely by tooting bugles and waving flags, but also by concentrated analysis of what the cur-

rents are in the midst of which we flounder, what the tides are which we attempt to stem.

Thus we take the liberty — if it is such — of bringing to your attention a book like *The Making of Tomorrow*. I suspect another reason is that the author beat your reviewer to his own front doorstep. I have long contended the need of a concrete, socio-psychological analysis of the intellectual currents, the tides of opinion of the past two decades, and have been collecting material to this end for well over five years, long before the war began. We cannot get our bearings or frame clearly our aims until this is done. Roussy de Sales has here made an unusually significant start. For it is essentially a historical analysis, rather than another blueprint for the future. He has no axe to grind, no prediction to make. Indeed, his objectivity, as, for example, in his studies of both patriotism and pacifism, may seem sacrilegious to many at the present moment. It is peculiar that it should be so, for it is in times of crisis, when we take new directions, that we need most this objectivity from our historians.

The author selects as the most fundamental factors controlling the present situation these three: nationalism, collectivism, and the revolution against war as a means of international intercourse. Since these terms have come into common parlance with a consequent lack of precise analysis, it is worth while indicating something of what he says about them.

Perhaps most significant of all has been the evolution of nationalism as a modern imperative. It has developed a power to over-ride all other values: Communism in Russia, for instance, has long since knuckled under to nationalism; Christianity has been doing so for well over a hundred years, for, of course, war is completely forbidden by the doctrines of Jesus. This power results probably from the failure of both ancient religion and eighteenth-century rationalism to fulfil their promises to men. Indeed, along with the allegiances formerly given these two, nationalism has rapidly taken over their mythology and superstitions. All attempts to destroy the old myths have had but one result, to channel them more forcefully into one path — that of nationalism.

It has taken many forms, and in an understanding of the diversity of these we can shed new light on some of the most puzzling problems of our era. Take, for instance, the collapse of France. It is not so difficult to comprehend the allegations of Vichy that "France still lives," when one realizes that French nationalism was always pri-

marily territorial in its make-up. It hinged not on allegiance to a particular ideology, as has American, but upon retention of certain natural boundaries. "France" is comprehended within them. This tragic parochialism was vividly illustrated by the government's inability to conceive of carrying on the war from outside of France proper.

Frenchmen might say, as many did, "Democracy go hang: what matters is France." A true American could not. For American nationalism is comprehended within a series of political beliefs — to be an American is to express an act of faith, of which there are many elements, such as optimism (as in the perfectibility of human nature, or in the inevitability of "progress") and the identification of Christianity with "democracy." It involves a willingness to criticize the agents of government, but not government itself. This again is vastly different than in France, where men even before the war had lost faith in the efficacy of the Third Republic. It is particularly significant, comments the author, that "at a time when democracy is supposed to be in a condition of decadence . . . there exists a nation of one hundred and thirty million people who cannot conceive that they could exist under any other political régime *than* democracy."

Throughout all nationalisms there runs a certain tribal element, as witness the different symbolisms. The tendency, however, has been to disentangle society and government from the irrational and the superstitious. Only Germany under the Nazis has openly faced backward, glorifying the primitive and exalting superstitions to the rank of dogmas. Of course, a racial nationalism such as this implies the right of a superior race to impose its will by whatever means it sees fit: hence, the rule of force. De Sales does not explain, however, why this is not also true of political nationalism, and seems to ignore the fact that political evangelization has frequently been accompanied by force. It does not, of course, unlike racial nationalism, necessarily *imply* force.

Blinded by his own concept of nationalism, and witness to the French collapse, Hitler was unable to comprehend why the English did not surrender when beaten in 1940. He betrayed thereby a complete misunderstanding of the character of British nationalism as well as the fiber of British morale. For the British variety was "empire" nationalism, quite independent of a definite sense of frontier. While it has developed from a lack of national self-sufficiency, it does not depend on domination of the areas involved. Here, too, if Hitler should succeed in defeating the English by invasion, he would again

be thwarted. For he could not *inherit* the empire; it would be necessary for him to over-run it piece by piece.

The author's indictment of nationalism is the more effective because not enraged. "On the whole," he observes, "it can be asserted that the forces of nationalism are everywhere on the ascendant, and that concerted efforts to establish any valid alternative are as yet very embryonic." He admits to the difficulty of determining what is good and what is bad in nationalism, but declares flatly that it stands, at present, as an insurmountable obstacle to the organization of the world for reduction of violence. For, as he points out, the impediments lie not only in the exaggerated nationalism of the Nazis, but also in selfishness exalted to a national idea. In this respect he notes wryly that President Roosevelt was forced to justify all moves he made to assist the forces of freedom, as we now label them, on a purely nationalist basis. Americans rejected any coöperation with England except on a basis of "national selfishness," openly advocated and proclaimed, until themselves attacked. Their refuge, as others before them, lay in the theory of the "minimum risk" and the "minimum immediate effort." Parenthetically, it is doubly distressing to realize that had America entered the war earlier with higher ideals than those of mere self-defense, the division of public opinion would unquestionably have been vastly greater. If she is now fighting for ideals, she had to be made to do so. The author is not openly this harsh; the implication is clear, however.

Cutting across the currents of nationalism is that of collectivism, which the author sees not as the mental fiction or even the creation of wild-haired radicals, but as a modern reality born of industrial and social evolution. It is as much a product of capitalism as humanitarianism. But he sees a fundamental conflict between democracy (with its modern imperative of collectivism) and both capitalism and socialism. And, in addition, within the definition of democracy there is the eternal conflict of freedom versus organization.

The fact that collectivism does cut across the vertical trends of nationalism introduces a fundamental conflict of western civilization, in war or peace. Indeed, the clash is such that men are able to justify an apparent betrayal of Cause by stepping over from one dimension to another. The Nazis have found one solution: by substituting nationalism for happiness as the goal of collectivism, they have synthesized the two. It is not a solution we should choose, however. Of course, the idea of organizing the production and distribution of goods, including,

of course, man's activities, to a certain end regardless of private financial considerations was Veblen's, among others. But Veblen's end was not nationalism.

Third factor is the opposition to war. De Sales notes that the idea that war does not pay is a modern one. Our forefathers may have preferred peace, but were not troubled by scruples about battle. War then could still bring profit to the victor, at least. Modern man, unable to explain the paradox of war in the face of its obvious senselessness, tends to deny it. One result is apathy — another is the psychology of defense — which seems to imply sort of a state of "lesser war" and to give the feeling that one is not himself *making* war. (Note the vogue of Leddell-Hart's theories.) Man's failure lay in not recognizing that once arms are taken up, offense or defense becomes a military problem.

No less important than repugnance to war itself was the *guilt complex*, foisted upon itself by the western world, especially the United States, in respect to its part at Versailles. No clause was ever more of a moral boomerang than that which laid the blame for the World War at the door of Germany. It was not long before the "criminal" of the last war had moved into a position where whatever he did appeared as a justifiable effort to redress wrongs done him. Furthermore, during the post-war debunking era, "the destructive criticism of the historians and the economists forced the intellectuals to take refuge in an attitude either of hazy and mystical pacifism or of hard-boiled cynicism and scientific detachment. They thus helped effectively to undermine the only standards by which an elite can survive, that is, their proven ability to strengthen and exalt the beliefs and hopes of the common people."

However, the author is careful to avoid charges of hindsight. He has little patience with the columnists who scourge the land of yesterday. His caution is most well taken.

"To condemn the America of the last twenty years is just as futile and unfair as to condemn France for the same period. That both the Americans and the French, along with most other people, were slow to grasp the danger that confronted them is not to be disputed. But it is not *they* that sinned. Their trouble — our trouble — is that we have tried to live like civilized human beings in spite of the fact that in our midst there was a people, the Germans, intent on bringing us all down to their level of barbarism. It may have been foolish. It

certainly was improvident and dangerous. It was not wicked nor sinful."

Historians will also be interested in a similar observation from another section:

It is easy for us today to see the mistakes made and to speculate on what might have happened if they had not been made. But history is not the fixed record of past events, never to be changed. Quite the contrary: History, in so far as the word embraces the faculty of exerting a judgment on past human actions, is a constant creation of the present. It can even be said that history is only valid to the extent that it serves to throw light on the present. Each generation, and perhaps each man, carries with him a different version of what has happened before. Historical truth is therefore as variable as life itself, because like life it is made up of the experience of yesterday seen through the contingencies of today and the hopes or fears of tomorrow.

That is why there is little profit in denouncing the mistakes of the last twenty years as if each of them could have been avoided separately at the time. These mistakes, as we see from our present vantage point, were not seen as such then. They are part of a pattern. They must be considered as several expressions of whatever attitude of mind prevailed at the time. They grew, naturally and irresistibly, out of the deepest convictions of men of all nations who believed, or wanted to believe that the final payment to the frightful scourge of war had been made.

To the "German problem," mentioned above, the author has devoted a chapter. His analysis is plausible and in some respects devastating. He sees them as perennial disturbers of the peace because of their basic romanticism. He notes the "five German revolts" of the past. It is an analysis which will be appreciated by the public. But to your reviewer it seems peculiar that competent historians working and reworking the field of European history had not noticed anything so widespread and important, sufficiently to establish it in the many volumes covering the period. Furthermore, it is easy to select the evidences of romanticism in the German past, exalted as they are to a national policy today, and ignore the German science and rationalism from which American graduate schools drew so much. I suspect that nationalities acting in mass do develop strong characteristics which distinguish them from other nations acting similarly. The French in the period of Napoleon demand special treatment, as do the Americans of the last century. But the technique of characterizing our enemies is always carried to extremes during wars. So I also suspect

that the author has momentarily slipped from the admirable objectivity of his earlier chapters.

Another chapter on the "Folklore of Democracy" is packed with thought-provoking observations which we have not room here to discuss. Especially significant is his notation for future reference — that only two of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are within the "classical inheritance of democracy" — those are freedom of speech and of religion. The other two, freedom from want and freedom from fear, imply collective action involving radical departures from traditional policy. Had the President not brought all four imperatives of the future under the generally accepted catchword "freedom," by using the expression "freedom from," conservative Americans might have been more troubled.

The author has no blueprint, neither does he make any prediction. In fact, he observes in passing that "solutions of the present conflict are unthinkable at its present stage." But just as his analysis has indicated the underlying post-war imperatives — abridgment of nationalism and extension of collectivism, so he indicates clearly the present imperative — to organize for victory now, without fear of home dictatorship. Dictatorship, indeed, he observes rather startlingly, is a normal phenomenon of democracy — in crisis. It is tyranny which plagues the world, and which is distinguished from a democratic dictatorship by lack of basic legal control and time limitations.

"Every world-moving idea has not only the right but the duty to avail itself of whatever means will make possible the realization of its purpose. The result is the only earthly judge of the rightness or wrongness of such an undertaking."

Since civilization based on freedom is a world-moving idea, it is the "right and duty of those who believe in the idea to avail themselves of whatever means will make possible its realization." This is Roussy de Sales' conclusion. But the first paragraph is straight out of Hitler — quoted. The author is not likely to settle the age-old quarrel of ends and means by a mere declaration, much less by a quote from Adolf. We still are not agreed as to the rightness of gas in war, but it is a means to the same end as war. The same applies to bombing and strafing civilian populations. Certainly Hitler advanced his world-moving idea by conquering France, and one powerful factor in enabling him to do so was the clogging of military roads by a panic-stricken civilian population that would not let the army through. No, de Sales is way off the beam here.

As a whole, this book does not take well to condensation. When we skim it, we skim off the obvious: what will strike the reader the most is the further insight displayed in elaborating the obvious. I strongly recommend it to you as a clarifying, level-headed analysis in the midst of so many effusions outdated by the war's next turn.



ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE AMATEUR

By WOLDEMAR H. RITTER

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The good green hills of Vermont are uncovered pages so far as archaeological research is concerned. Definite headway has been made in uncovering some evidence of Indian occupation [see page 48, Proceedings, March 1942], under the direction of Mr. Jermain Slocum, chairman of our committee on archaeological research, but a committee and its experts need as much assistance as it can get from amateurs. Many a Vermonter in many a place has uncovered arrowheads or other evidence of Indian occupation; he marches off with the arrowheads, leaving behind a hidden site that might reveal much to the trained searcher. So we are borrowing wholesale from the Charleston Museum this fine, directive article by the late Doctor Ritter. Substitute "Vermont" for "South Carolina," and his advice is to the point all along the line. We hope the article will be widely used — passed along to Boy Scouts, for instance, and other young Vermonters, for boys are born discoverers. Adults who have dusty heels and roam through the state on hikes should keep in mind the suggestions offered. We are publishing the article with the permission of the Charleston Museum of Charleston, South Carolina. Editor.

THE State of South Carolina has long been neglected by the professional archaeologist. This neglect is due largely to the fact that before the coming of the White Man the region was inhabited by the fringes of powerful Indian tribes, which had their centers in land adjoining our territory. Hitherto these centers have furnished so much information that it has not been thought worth while to expend much effort on this borderland country. However there are in this state a great many Indian mounds and village sites which are of great interest and worthy of proper study. The Boy Scouts are an organization admirably fitted to undertake this important work of saving from destruction the Indian relics still to be found, and of recording the information connected with them.

The searcher who wishes to reclaim rather than to destroy the evi-

dence contained in these Indian sites must bear in mind that archaeology has grown into an exact science which tolerates no hit or miss methods. Unavoidably many of the most valuable Indian remains have been destroyed by the farmer's plough, the steam shovel of the road maker, and the excavator of building sites. But worse than these are the curio hunters who dig up relics merely for the fun of digging or for the purpose of selling. Such people are known to scientific men as "pot hunters" and are considered a disgrace to civilization. To dig in a mound or village site without knowing how to preserve its records is "equal to tearing pages out of a valuable book, a book which never can be rewritten!"

Collecting

Now collecting appeals to most of us. We have brought the collecting of stamps, coins, furniture, etc., down to a science, and there seems to be no reason why one who enjoys the finding and keeping of Indian relics should not do this in a scientific manner; all the more so because this hobby has a contribution to make to history, in fact to every phase of man's life on this earth. Let us show how this can be done.

Camp Sites

The first thing to remember is that Indians were human beings with needs like our own. They built their houses where natural drainage would carry off the floods of rainwater. They preferred, especially in the Lowcountry, a southern exposure because this gave them warmth in winter and cool breezes in summer. They liked to be close to navigable water and in a location easy of defense. Good drinking water was a great essential. Best of all was water from a spring.

Owing to the fact that the early white settlers had about the same primitive needs, and found good home sites somewhat rare, many plantation houses were built on Indian sites. We can envy the boys who live in such places and are able to make collections of Indian relics literally at their doorsteps. Those of us less fortunate will find it a help to keep in mind the above conditions when searching for good hunting-grounds.

Equipment

For those who have decided to be scientific collectors, what equipment is necessary? First on the list comes a small notebook with pen-

cil; then a dozen paper bags and several pasteboard boxes padded with tissue paper for the preservation of fragile objects, and a number of tags or slips of paper. A black and white two foot rule should be added.

If any digging is to be done a pick and shovel are needed for the preliminary work, but after a mound has been entered and objects of interest appear, then smaller tools should be used, such as a trowel, a dull knife, and even a whisk broom. If a shell heap is under examination, a claw garden tool will be most helpful. Fortunately for youth and for parents the cost of this outfit is practically nothing and the only thing hard to come by will be transportation.

Surface Collecting

Having heard from a farmer or hunter that arrowheads are to be found in a certain place, one is ready to set out for an "adventure," and arrives at a large cultivated field. Permission to enter on private property must always be had. Usually a polite request and explanation at the nearest farm house will be enough; better still whenever possible is a written request sent in advance to the owner. Remember that the owner may be a collector himself, or may have given the freedom of his field to a collector friend. Entering on a man's land and removing objects without permission may easily appear in the light of stealing. Also spare the crops by stepping lightly between the rows. In other words, keep strictly to the Golden Rule.

The best time to choose is before the crops are too high, on a day after a rain, when all objects are washed free from soil and easily seen. The first thing to do after a look around is to gather some surface finds. These should be placed in bags, together with a slip noting the date, the name of the owner of the site, the town and county, the exact location, and even the section of the camp site where the specimens were found. Naturally the collector will be careful not to put large heavy stones into the same bag with breakable bones and potsherds, as we call pieces of broken pots.

Should a very dense accumulation of stone chips be observed at some one spot, digging is likely to uncover there the dwelling site and fireplace of the village arrowmaker, and amongst the debris may be found many discarded or unfinished arrow points. These are of rare educational value to the finder; from a series of unfinished stone implements he can gain an idea of the various stages in the process of

flaking stone; after studying the examples he can make for himself a flaking tool, and try to complete the chipping of one of the incomplete pieces. It is best to keep all stones that show they have been worked by human hands, no matter how crude they may appear.

Excavating

It is a delightful surprise to pick up an arrowhead lost by an Indian hunter centuries ago, but the real joy comes to the archaeologist when he stands ready to begin the excavation of an Indian mound. This situation is thrilling, but likewise sobering. It carries with it a grave responsibility, of which every one should be conscious before he puts shovel to Indian earth. Like the surgeon he has but one opportunity; if he bungles the operation there remains no second chance for himself or any one else.

The excavation of a mound never should be undertaken without the advice of a trained archaeologist. This work involves knowledge, money, time and labor beyond the resources of the average person. South Carolina possesses relatively few mounds and, sad to relate, many of them already have been robbed of their contents. Pot hunters have dug into them and removed the relics associated with burials. Mounds thus disturbed lose practically all their worth to science. Therefore it is of prime importance that owners of mounds should notify the proper authorities of their existence, and should protect their property against theft.

Types of Mounds

There are various types of mounds, as for instance, the low burial mounds, rising but a few feet above the surrounding level; there are high mounds, built for ceremonial or other, as yet unknown, purposes. Both are accumulations of earth brought in baskets by the squaws, and some of them are so large that they must have been generations in building. Almost all mounds were added to at different periods. When the work was halted for any length of time, grass grew and leaves and sand collected on the top, so that today we can recognize the successive stages of building by the intervening layers of dark mould which lie between them and run like black lines through the walls of any exploratory trench. Archaeologists use the term "stratification" to describe this layer formation.

Effigy mounds are a third type. They are built in the form of ani-

mals, such as birds and snakes, and occur chiefly in the Mississippi Basin.

Still another variety is found along the Atlantic Seaboard. Strictly speaking these are not mounds, because they do not consist of masses of earth intentionally heaped up. They really are refuse heaps and for the most part are composed of shells. But in them we find pieces of broken pots, stone tools, food bones, and now and then worked bones, such as awls, and occasionally worked shells and other objects of interest.

Stratification

Emphasis is placed upon the importance of stratification and its recognition because upon it depends the solution of many of the most intricate problems of modern archaeology. For instance, an excavator may remove a potsherd from a point a few inches above a dividing line, and another from a level a few inches below it; he may notice that his two pieces show different decorations, but throw them into the same bag.

Later, on showing his two potsherds to an expert, he is told that they represent the work of two different tribes of Indians, who occupied the site at different periods of time. He will be asked which potsherd was found in the upper, and which in the lower of the two strata, and what was the thickness of each stratum; also the thickness of the dividing layer of mould. If he has no knowledge of stratification and its meaning, he will fail to realize that the expert is questioning him regarding matters of Indian history, and that his replies should be such as to settle the questions: "Which tribe was first on the spot? How long did each live there? What was the interval between occupations?" If he has failed to observe accurately and understandingly, then history will be no richer, but poorer, for his destruction of what was definite evidence; and he will be set down by the expert as no better than a pot hunter.

House Sites

The South Carolina Indians were not nomadic, or wandering tribes, like those of the North. When they moved it was chiefly for the purpose of housecleaning, and only far enough afield to get away from the sharp shells and other camp litter painful to their feet. They lived in settled communities, built houses, and cultivated fields. It would be marvelous to find one of these houses. That being out of the question,

it has become the archaeologist's dream to find what is left of them. It happens occasionally in the excavation of sites and mounds that signs of posts and wattle, the supports and walls of Indian houses, come to light. These are merely impressions or casts left in the surrounding soil by the long vanished wood, and they are overlooked by all but the most careful and painstaking observers. To unearth a considerable portion of such a ghost of a house is the great ambition of every field archaeologist. One example of a large house found in Beaufort County throws an illuminating beam on Indian building methods. Others are sure to come to light, but only at the hands of someone who knows what he is looking for. One such record is worth a thousand ordinary relics and will send the fortunate finder's name down in history. Why not be the lucky Scout?

Bone Implements

The excavator will find in abundance potsherds and broken stone implements; but only the trained eye will detect here and there among the food bones an occasional worked bone, one that was shaped and smoothed into an awl, pin, punch, or knife handle. Such bone tools have rested for centuries under ground and, of course, are very fragile. The practiced hand will gently free them from soil, slip beneath them a piece of stiff paper, and so remove them to a shady spot where in most cases slow drying will harden them.

Burials

Now and then a burial is uncovered. In that event before digging further or disturbing the position of any bones, it is the wise thing to notify the nearest museum or college and ask for advice. Probably a member of the staff will be sent to supervise the removal. The finder need have no fear of being deprived of any stone implements, pots or other relics found with the bones. He may keep these. In the rare instances where this material is needed for scientific purposes it will be taken only with the consent of the finder. Immediate notification of the discovery of a burial is important because bones that have lain long in the earth crumble on exposure to the air, and also because the major value of a burial depends on recording the exact position in which the bones are found lying. The various tribes had distinctive burial customs, and position of bones in a burial often determines the name of the tribe.

Preservation of Material

When a buried object comes into sight it should not be pulled out of the earth, but the material above and at the sides should be cleared away cautiously. Then if it is found to be lying in association with other objects, as for instance with the bones of a burial, everything should be allowed to remain in the original position until the entire group has been uncovered and photographed. Before a photograph is taken a ruler should be laid close to the objects, in such a position that it will not appear foreshortened in the picture. Potsherds, bones, etc., which have been buried a long time in the earth are soft and ready to crumble at a touch; exposure to the air for a few hours usually serves to harden them considerably. All this work calls for care, time, and patience, and unless one is ready to spend these without stint it is better not to attempt excavation.

Cataloging

All objects, whether picked up on the surface or dug up, should go immediately into paper bags, together with slips of paper on which all information is recorded. All notes should be written down on the spot, and nothing left to memory. Suppose a field is being searched, all potsherds may be placed together in the same bag, with one data slip for all; while a second bag and slip will serve for the stone relics recovered. Similarly a number of potsherds removed from a single stratum of an excavation may go into one bag together with their record slip. In other words, it is quite unnecessary to have a separate bag and slip for every specimen, one bag is sufficient for a related group.

On arrival at home all soft or crumbling objects, such as excavated potsherds and bones, should be spread out to dry. Later all should be cleaned. Scrub them with a dry nail brush, or if necessary under water. Then comes the actual cataloging.

Let us suppose the collector has before him all the objects he has gathered from a certain site, and his notebook or card catalog, in which he intends to keep his records. On the top line he will write at the left, the number he has given to the camp site, in the middle of the line, the name of the nearest town, and in the right hand corner, the name of the county. On the next line he writes a short description of the location, with the owner's name and address, and directions for reaching the site. Then begins the numbering of the objects.

On each piece should be written in black or white India ink, first

the number of the site, followed by a period, this to be followed by the number of the object itself. The numbering should be done on the back in an inconspicuous place. Now enter in notebook or on card the full number of every object. After each number write a description of the piece, the date when found, whether surface find or excavated, and if excavated note location and depth at which found. It is a great mistake to leave anything to memory.

Every Collector a Custodian

Every collector should bear in mind the fact that he has in his keeping one of the scattered leaves which sometime will be collected into a volume of history, and this means a grave responsibility. Every object he owns is a bit of history for which there is no duplicate. Should he become tired of his hobby, or find himself forced to give it up for lack of time or space, then he should sense the fact that his collection, probably of no money value, still is useful to some future historian of the Indians of South Carolina, and he should put it into the safe keeping of a museum or college. The collector probably will never be the author of a book, but if he is careful and scientific in his observations he may one day have the satisfaction of seeing his name in a footnote acknowledging him as the source of information furnished to some famous historian.

The Charleston Museum as Historian

For several years past The Charleston Museum has been at work on a survey of the Indian sites of the State. Several maps now under construction are intended to show at a glance the distribution of the tribes and their migrations. By the aid of colors and symbols it is hoped to show also something of the burial and other ceremonial practices which characterized the manner of life, that is the "culture," of the Indians of South Carolina.

This is a piece of work involving years of hard labor. In it the amateur explorer can be of great assistance. The Museum hopes that in every county of the State there will be some public spirited collectors who will interest themselves in this project sufficiently to give active help. In the first place the Museum would like information regarding the location of every known Indian site. This information should include the exact location of the site, giving its distance and direction from the nearest town, and the parish or county in which it

lies. If a creek or river is nearby, give its name. Also, the information should give the name and address of the owner of the land. Furthermore, there should be included a description of the site: whether mound, shell heap or burial. It is important to note whether the site is now overgrown or is a plowed field. Second, the Museum would appreciate receiving a few characteristic potsherds from each site, with special reference to the patterns on ordinary sherds, and the decorations found on rim pieces. Third, it would be useful to the Museum to hear of any unusual objects found, such as decorated shell or bone ornaments, pipes, etc. A photograph or outline drawing is always appreciated.

The Museum, on its side, stands ready to give the amateur all the help and information at the command of the staff. No one who wishes advice need hesitate to ask.



A VERMONT BOOKSHELF

A DEPARTMENT

1. *Morgan Does Itself Proud*

1791-1941: MORGAN, VERMONT: SESQUICENTENNIAL OF VERMONT STATEHOOD. Published by the Morgan Sesquicentennial Committee, Mrs. Ward Barrup, chairman. 1942. \$1.00.

My guess would be that if a prize had been offered for the best sesquicentennial booklet by the Citizens Sesquicentennial Committee, this brochure issued by the little town of Morgan would come pretty close to winning a top prize. Some of the larger towns of the state, certainly, who were too busy or who complained of lack of funds, ought to get red behind the ears as they see the result of good Vermont gumption still going strong in Morgan.

The quaint American assumption, based on "booster" doctrines, that the bigger a place, the better it is, is a fallacy, but the doctrine is deeply imbedded in certain types of minds. Morgan, I surmise, in most Vermont minds is thought of as a remote hamlet somewhat removed from civilization. Our W.P.A. guide-book, *Vermont*, in *The American Guide Series*, speaks of it as a "hinterland settlement." The town's sesquicentennial brochure proves that the "hinterland" people are in some larger places I might mention — just as it has seemed to me that the most provincial people in America are in New York City, living and dying within the circumference of Manhattan.

Be all the above as it may, this story of Morgan is cleverly designed, attractively printed and illustrated, and the story itself is entertainingly told. Here's the introductory paragraph:

In a simple ceremony the people of Morgan gathered on August 22, 1941 to celebrate the Sesquicentennial of Vermont Statehood. Amid the beauty and charm of this Morgan country, the inhabitants rededicated themselves and their efforts to the idea of Freedom and Unity, that, for 150 years had prevailed in this commonwealth. Here is the story.

The principal address at the gathering was given by George N. Dale — "No place on earth is closer to my heart than the town of Morgan. Here my mother was born, and here lived many of my

ancestors when this place was a wilderness" — who traced the relation between the development of the early United States and the early Vermont, then turned to the story of the men and women who created Morgan, tying in the running theme of freedom and unity through the address. A series of five pictures illustrates various phases of the celebration.

The early history of the town was summarized by Mr. Sterling Ulrich. One section illustrates better than many "hifalutin" words the resourcefulness of our early Vermonters:

The brooms that were used were made of fir or cedar sprigs. Lydia Wilcox, a very young girl, went into the woods to gather some of these sprigs and became lost. Her parents became alarmed as evening approached and organized a searching party. We can imagine their grave concern when we try to picture this little girl lost in an uninhabited wilderness with darkness coming on. Lydia, however, had the courage and presence of mind of a much older person and when she stumbled upon the cows that were out to pasture she stayed right with them, knowing that when milking time came they would go home. The early settlers had to encounter many hardships and privations. There was not a gristmill nearer than West Derby or Stanstead, a distance of about 15 miles as they then traveled. In Spring and Fall seasons the roads were passable only on foot or horseback. Mr. Bartlett could get pasture for his horse only at Derby Center, 10 miles away. When they needed any milling done, someone of the family had to take a day off to go for the horse, the next day start for the mill with about 2 bushels of wheat, tarry over night for their grist, on the third day return home and on the fourth day turn out the horse.

A ten-mile hike would lay low most Vermonters to-day — or wouldn't it?

Our friends from "huddled cities old in sin" are often skeptical about bears and wolves in the older Vermont. Mr. Ulrich tells first of the success of a pioneer and his son in chasing a bear in Lake Seymour and finally subduing bruin. He then turns to a recent incident:

The largest bear in the history of Morgan was killed during the Fall of 1940. This monster had been killing and eating the young cattle of Mr. J. B. Williams. . . . Game Warden Pratt of Island Pond set a bear trap and the bear got into it but carried the trap and all away. It was trailed and finally shot. It weighed approximately 600 pounds.

Morgan in its beautiful setting beside Lake Seymour, the largest lake, I believe, wholly in the state, is well worth a visit by tourist and

fisherman. The proceeds from the sale of the brochure are to be used in making a home willed to the town over into a community house. Each one sending in a dollar receives the brochure and is listed as a sponsor. The one dollar should be sent to Mrs. Ward Barrup, Morgan, Vermont.

2. Records Across the Years

NATIONAL ARCHIVES GUIDE — GUIDE TO THE MATERIAL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES: PUBLICATION NO. 14. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. Price 40 cents (paper cover), 70 cents (cloth cover).

Suppose you were to be invited to attend a gathering at which sound pictures were to show you George Washington moving and speaking and looking as he did a century and a half ago — the real Washington; probably neither bridge nor your favorite radio comedian would keep you home. I do not know how far any federal agency has gone in recording sound pictures of our leading figures or events; but generations from now will be able to see President Roosevelt, for instance, addressing the Young Democrats at Warm Springs, April 20. This picture is Accession 605 in the National Archives.

This whole plan for preservation of our national records has escaped the popular mind and the minds of many a student and reader. The National Archives was established by Congress in 1934 and occupies a building erected for its use in the national Capital. Its primary objectives are the concentration and preservation of such non-current records of the Government of the United States as appear to have administrative, research, or informational value and the administration of such records so as to facilitate their use by officials, scholars, or others to whom they might be of service. It is obvious that an essential part of facilitating the use of the records is to make known to prospective users of them their existence and something of their nature, scope, and value. That is the purpose of the guide.

The 303-page guide, to which I am referring, covers more than 329,000 linear feet of records received by the National Archives to December 31, 1939. Bulletins covering accessions since that time have been published. Described or listed in the guide are records of the United States Senate, all ten executive departments, 45 independent agencies, and four Federal courts, and included among them are

many maps and charts, sound recordings, and motion pictures and other photographic material.

I do not know the history of the establishment of the National Archives, but the vision implied in its creation will enter into rich rewards through these historic days; and its records will be as they are now a treasure house for the historian or the historically inclined.

3. A Friend of the Green Mountain Boys

STARK OF THE NORTH COUNTRY. By Leon W. Dean. Farrar and Rinehart, New York. 1941. \$2.00.

This book is one of an excellent series of biographies designed for juvenile readers and published by Farrar and Rinehart, but it is a rousing good narrative of a colorful colonial figure, and any adult will surely enjoy the vigorously told story. Professor Dean is a member of the English Department of the University of Vermont, and I am inclined to be suspicious of the attempts of teachers of English to put in practice what they teach — at least, some of the driest books I have ever read can be charged to such gentlemen. But Professor Dean is a successful writer of boys' stories, and his skill is everywhere evident in his book.

Stark is followed from his New Hampshire home through his boyhood and young manhood to his old age, and the many adventures he found on the way are vividly rehearsed against a background of history that is highlighted accurately and never weighted down with detail to the detriment of the telling. Particularly effective are the chapters dealing with the warfare around Fort Ticonderoga and the battles in which Stark served under Washington. The chapter on the Battle of Bennington is probably one of the best descriptions ever written on that theme. All in all, out of the book emerges, in my opinion, the real Stark.

D. J.



POSTSCRIPT

Ultimum verbum non dico

HERE is a document of historic import — for the future if there ever was such a document — *Official Buyer's Guide to Products and Manufacturers of Vermont*, published by the State of Vermont through the Office of the Industrial Agent, Montpelier, Vermont. One of the fervent ideas of the Citizens Sesquicentennial Committee had to do with the publication of an industrial map, showing the location of all industries of the state and a list of them with the manufacturers. The idea remained fervent, but that was as far as it went. I do not know the name of the individual who is responsible for the publishing of the guide, but credit is given to the Office of Industrial Agent, Department of Industrial Relations, and the State Publicity Service. They deserve a word of congratulation.

The guide gives us in compressed form a valuable glimpse of the economic status of the state in the year 1942 — in so far, at least, as its industries are concerned. Aside from the business man to whom the guide is addressed, researchers in economic fields and readers with imagination will be able to draw a wide variety of inferences from the lists. For instance, a teetotaler friend calls attention to the fact that there is only one distillery in the state whereas a hundred years or so ago there were dozens of them — evidence of progress or something else depending on one's attitude, I suppose, toward the cup that cheers. Most of the products are of a practical nature. But suppose I labor and toil a while and give you the complete list of manufactured products in Vermont. Some student of the future may thank me for it anyway; and here it is —

Abrasives, aerial carriers, agricultural hand tools, agricultural implements, aircraft parts, aluminum castings, andirons, antiseptic products, aprons, art embroidery, asbestos, asbestos cloth, asphalt products, atomite pigment, auto body and fender machines, automatic lathes, automatic screw machines, automatic turret lathes, automobile fabrics, automobile seat covers, aviation accessories, awnings, axes, axe helvies, bacon, badminton rackets, bags, bag holders, bake ovens, bakeries (commercial), balsam pillows, barn ventilators, barrels, bas-

kets, bath tools, bedroom furniture, beer pumps, benches, bentwood chairs, beverages, blank books, blankets, blinds, boats, bobbin machinery, bobbins, boiler coverings, book cases, book printers and binders, book publishing, bottle openers, bowling pins, wood bowls, box springs, boxes (paper), brass castings, bread boards, breakfast furniture, brick (marble), bridge lamps, bridges, brooms (house), brooms (street), brushes, brush cutters, brush fibre, buckets, burial vaults, butter (23 concerns), butter molds, buttons, cabinets, calcium carbonate, calendars, canes, canned goods, can openers, cans, cant hooks, canvas goods, card tables, cards, casein, castings, cattle tags, cement, cement blocks, cement coatings, cereals, chairs, channelling machines, cheese (21 concerns), children's play yards, china closets, church goods, churns, clapboards, cleaning fluid, cloth (20 varieties), cloth finishing machinery, clothes dryers, clothes hangers and reels, clothes-line holders, clothes pins, clothing (21 varieties), coat hangers, college novelties, concrete blocks, concrete culverts, concrete pipe, concrete silo blocks, confectionery, conveyors, coolers, corn knives, cots, couches and divans, counter trays, crayons, creosoting, cribs, croquet sets, crushed stone, cultivators, cup hooks, curtains, cushions, cutting boards, darning lasts, deodorizer, derricks, desks, dies, dinette furniture, dining room furniture, disinfectants, display features, distillery, doors, dowels, drag saw rigs, drain boards, dresses, drop hammers, druggists labels, dust removing devices, dyes, ear tags, eave and rake drips, engravers, evaporators, extracts, eyelet presses, eyelets, factory trucks, feeds, felt novelties, ferrules, fertilizers, fibre can machinery, fire escapes, fishing tackle, flags, flexible steel tubing, flower stems, fly spray, food packers, forks and spoons (wood), foundries, furnace cement, furniture, games, gear cutting machinery, garnet, gelatine sheets, gloves, granite (building), granite cutting tools, granite mausoleums, granite (monumental), granite polishing, granite quarries, granite tools, granite sandblasting, granite sawing, granite turning, granite working machinery, grease, greeting cards, grinding machines, handbags, handles, harrows, heels (rubber), heels (wood), honey, hosiery, household furniture, ice cream, insecticides, institutional furniture, iron castings, ironing boards and tables, jar openers, juvenile furniture, kitchen woodenware, knife sharpeners, knitted novelties, knitting machines, labels, lacquer, land limes, land tile, last blocks, lathes, leather, leather novelties, lime, limestone, liquor, lithographers, machinery, machine shops, machine tools, manure spreaders, maple sugar, maple sugar utensils, maps, marble, marble tools, marble

working machinery, mattresses, meat packer, medical specialties, mica, milk (condensed and evaporated), milk cooling cabinets, milk powder, mineral filler, mink food, mirrors, moulded plastics, mops, needles, novelties (souvenirs), oars, outdoor furniture, ovens, padding (automobile), paint brushes, paint cleaner, paints, paper (33 varieties), paper boxes, parlor furniture, pastry boards, penstocks, pigments, plaster, plastic fabric, plastics, plates (plywood), plows, plywood, portable ovens, printers, proprietary medicines, punches, quartz, quills, rakes, reamers, reels, refrigerating machines, renderers, reworked wool, rods, rolling pins, roof cement and coatings, row boats, rubber soles and heels, sails, sand and gravel, sand pumps, sand spreaders, sap tubs, sash (window), sausage, sawmill machinery, saw rigs, scales, screens, screw machine products, screw plates, scythes, scythe snathes, sewer pipe, shade rollers, shears, sheet metal shop, shingles, ship wedges, shoddy, show trimmings, shovels, signs, silos, skis, ski presses and spreaders, slate hooks, slate products, snowshoes, soapstone, spark plugs, spools, spoons, springs for saxophones, stanchions, steel squares, step ladders, stone boats, stone working machinery, stools, structural steel work, suction box covers, sweeping compound, tables, talc, tanks, taps, tennis rackets, tents, textile machinery, toboggans, toilet seats, tops, towel bars, toys, traveling cranes, trays, truck bodies, trucks, tubs, twine, upholstered furniture, veneer, venetian blinds, veterinary remedies, weeders, window ventilators, woodflour, wood heels, wood products (19 classifications with many subdivisions), wood working machinery, yarn.

There is the story — and a most interesting one — industrial Vermont in epitome. A list based on a carefully selected summary of the industries in 1842 checked against this 1942 list would tend to show where Vermont is going in the development of its industrial activities. There is an almost total absence of certain industries that one would say could thrive in the state. But my readers can do their own pondering.

Aside from products listed in the guide, there is an alphabetical classification of Vermont manufacturers, and a geographical list showing the location of the manufacturers.

* * * * *

The popular idea of a historical society as a repository for antiquarian lore would be amusing if it did not have some serious import. As a matter of fact, there has been and still is some ground for such a be-

lief, but in recent years some significant changes have been on the way. Such a society should be, of course, a repository for important documents and other materials of the past that show the progressive growth or decline of all phases of a society; it should rescue forgotten documents; but it should also seek to preserve for the future contemporary records. If such organizations with such a purpose had existed two hundred years ago in America and in Vermont, history would not have so many blind alleys. One reason for the limited recognition of historical societies in the past has been their failure to estimate the importance of the present.

Our own society is rapidly moving from the position I have mentioned toward a more vigorous policy which includes the dissemination of historical knowledge. This phase of our work could be greatly expanded with more ample funds, but definite headway is being made. Discoveries in science and medicine are immediately and widely made known, but new historical knowledge still wanders through narrow channels.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has asked and answered the basic questions very effectively, it seems to me:

What, then, are the true and proper objectives of a historical society? What have we done and what are we doing to define those objectives clearly? How far are we succeeding in accomplishing our purpose?

We proceed on an assumption that we believe needs no defense: that history is worth studying, that historical records therefore are worth preserving; that history gives meaning, perspective, unity, and a sense of continuity in an individual's relation to his family, his economic or social group, his nation; that an understanding of history helps to develop an understanding of man's social evolution, of his attitude toward fundamental problems at different times and in different places; that it cultivates, in the words of a recent commission, "an objective attitude toward all social customs, organizations, and institutions as being not ends in themselves but means to ends and a disposition to weigh and measure them not in terms of blind loyalties but in terms of their adequacy to serve the purposes they are designed to serve." A knowledge of history, then, is not merely a department of literature necessary for the cultured man: it is an essential way of approach to the problems of man in his relation to society.

* * * * *

The Calvin Coolidge Memorial Pilgrimage to Plymouth on August ninth took on unusual meaning this year in that a memorial

tablet carrying Coolidge's Bennington Address was dedicated. No Vermonter can attend the pilgrimage service at the little white church in its mountain village setting without coming close to the heart of the democratic traditions in America. The day was rainy and generally disagreeable, but the little church was packed to the doors. Lieutenant Governor Mortimer Proctor delivered an able address in which he analyzed present conditions in America in the light of the Coolidge doctrines of democracy. Governor Wills, President Gay of our Society, H. A. Stoddard, Master of the State Grange, and the editor of the *Proceedings* took a brief part in the ceremonies.

The granite memorial tablet was made possible by the devotion and good old Green Mountain tenacity of State Senator Ernest A. Spear of Woodstock. He had made up his mind, evidently, that there was to be one place in Vermont where the famous Bennington speech, so expressive of the Vermonter's traditional love of his state, should be permanently recorded for generations to read. The tablet is in the vestibule of the church. A few leading men and women citizens of the state of vision and understanding aided with funds as did the Pomona Grange and twenty-four subordinate Granges in Windsor County.

Senator Spear's brief, simple, but moving dedicatory address is worthy of preservation for the future; and here it is:

Senator E. A. Spear at Dedication of Coolidge Tablet

As President Coolidge was returning to Washington from a visit to the State on September 21, 1928, while his train was waiting in Bennington, he spoke from the rear platform of his car to the assembled people. In that speech he paid his tribute of love to the State and to her people. In order to preserve those words to posterity, we have taken a slab of marble from our everlasting hills and engraved them upon it and placed it in the vestibule of this church where all who visit here may read.

We dedicate it to the memory of Calvin Coolidge.

We dedicate it to these eternal hills which he loved and from which he received his help and his strength, and to which he returned from time to time to replenish that help and that strength.

We dedicate it to those virtues of industry, frugality, integrity, and self-reliance, inculcated and practiced by Vermonters and so splendidly exemplified in the life and character of Calvin Coolidge.

We dedicate it to his idealism, an idealism tempered by realism without which we cannot attain our ideals.

We dedicate it to our American Way of Life which permitted Calvin Coolidge to go from this rural community straight to the White House to become the head of this great free people.

We dedicate it to the freedoms which make up our American Way. Freedom

under Law. Freedom of opportunity for each individual to rise as high as his ability and energy permit. Freedom to choose without dictation those who are to make our laws and govern us. Freedom to worship according to the dictates of our own souls. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, and Free Public Schools.

We dedicate it to a Republican form of Government under a written Constitution. A government of laws and not of men nor bureaucracies.

This American Way of Life, these freedoms, and this Constitutional Government are facing dangers today from without and within, so let us here at this shrine dedicate ourselves to defend and protect them, even as did Calvin Coolidge, that we may pass them on to future generations as they have been received by us.

*PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE
AT BENNINGTON, SEPT. 21, 1928*

*Vermont is a State I love.
I could not look
Upon the peaks
Of Ascutney, Killington,
Mansfield, and Equinox,
Without being moved
In a way that no other scene
Could move me.*

*It was here
That I first saw
The light of day;
Here I received my bride;
Here my dead lie
Pillowed on the loving breast
Of our everlasting Hills.*

*I love Vermont
Because of her hills and valleys,
Her scenery, and her invigorating climate;
But most of all
Because of her indomitable people.
They are a race of Pioneers
Who have almost beggared themselves
To serve others.*

*If the spirit of Liberty
Should vanish in other parts
Of the Union,
And support of our institutions
Should languish,
It all could be replenished
From the generous store
Held by the people
Of this brave little State
Of Vermont.*

The Bennington Address, as it has come to be known, exists in various forms as it was given extemporaneously. The text on page 246 of the book, *Vermont Prose: A Miscellany* (*Green Mountain Series*), was checked by President Coolidge and may be considered authentic. The three opening paragraphs are of limited interest and appeal, and time has removed them; so the speech as it lingers in memory begins with the fourth paragraph. On the tablet the last paragraphs have been arranged in a rhythmical pattern.

* * * * *

Historians and biographers are sometimes subject to a form of self-hypnosis — the result of too much mental focusing on some particular aspect of a character or event. There were many Allens hidden in Ethan Allen, and no biographer as yet has, in my opinion, uncovered the real Allen. I feel that Judge Davis drew broad but accurate conclusions about Allen in the brief address that appears in this issue. As for the statue itself, I doubt if it bears any resemblance to Allen, and it is not essentially important that it should; it does represent a tall and commanding figure, and is a symbol. Nevertheless, as a matter of historic and human interest, a reasonably correct picture or statue of Allen would be an asset to the state. The evidence is sound that a portrait of Allen was painted, but it very definitely has disappeared. The Kinney statue should have been carved in marble, and it is to be regretted that a short-sighted legislature refused to appropriate funds for that purpose.

Henry Hall, in his *Ethan Allen* [D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1892] has the following to say about the Kinney statue:

The earliest statue of Ethan Allen was by Benjamin Harris Kinney, a native of Sunderland [*once the home of Allen. Ed.*]. It was

modelled in Burlington and exhibited there in 1852. The Rev. Zadoc Thompson said of it: "All who have long and carefully examined his statue will admit that the artist, Mr. Kinney, our respected townsman, has embodied and presented to the eye the ideal in a most masterly manner." The Hon. David Read says: "The statue was examined by several aged people who had personally known Allen and all pronounce it an excellent likeness of him." Henry de Puy has an engraving of this statue in his book about Allen in 1853. This statue has never been purchased from Mr. Kinney, and it is still in his possession.

Allen died in 1789; the statue was carved 63 years later; so it is reasonable to infer that aged Vermonters must have seen him many times in their youth, and he was probably a figure to be remembered.

* * * * *

The Honorable Deane C. Davis, whose address on Allen appears in this issue, can be classified as a Vermonter, "born and bred." His birthplace was East Barre, Vermont, and the date November 7, 1900. He is a graduate of Spaulding High School, Barre, Vermont, and the Boston University Law School. He has been city attorney of Barre, state's attorney for Washington County, a superior judge of the Superior Court of the state, and is now general counsel for the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier.

Mr. George E. Hyde, who gives us some pointed reminders in his "Independent Vermont" that touch on old controversies, has antecedents that are thoroughly Vermont — Highgate, Eden, and Fairfax being the birthplaces of his ancestors. He, however, has journeyed widely from Vermont. After graduating from Brigham Academy and Harvard College, he went to Mexico, first going into mining, then into journalism. He was a captain of infantry in the first World War and saw sixteen months of service in France. On leaving the army, he returned to Mexico and journalism until 1929 when ill health forced him to give up his work and return to the United States. Later on, he became connected with the Vermont Historical Records Survey in the Work Projects Administration as a research historian. He became supervisor of town histories and publications. He is now busy on projects more closely connected with war effort.

A. W. P.



